

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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R 151901Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8747

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16593

EXDIS

LONDON FOR WEISS: SHAPE FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: FRG VIEWS ON NUCLEAR AND OTHER DEFENSE MATTERS

BEGIN SUMMARY. DURING SEPARATE CALLS ON FONOFF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SIMON, DEFMIN ASSISTANT SECRETARY WIECK AND B.GEN. BRANDT--ACTING CHIEF DEFMIN MILITARY POLICY AND PLANS, PM DIRECTOR WEISS HAD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF POLITICAL/MILITARY SUBJECTS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND RECENT NPG MEETING, DIFFERING EXIGENCIES OF U.S./FRG PARLIAMENTARY PRESENTATIONS ON TROOP ISSUE, AND FRENCH ROLE IN ALLIANCE AND ATLANTIC DECLARATION. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW. END SUMMARY

1. NUCLEAR ISSUES. DURING SEPARATE MEETING WITH SIMON AND FONOFF NATO DEPT OFFICIALS AND WITH B.GEN BRANDT OF DEFMIN POLICY AND PLANS, WEISS WAS ASKED WHAT LAY BEHIND STATEMENTS OF SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS ON NUCLEAR TOPICS, STARTING IN DR. KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 SPEECH AND PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE WORLD REPORT. THE GERMANS
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WISH TO KNOW WHAT USG HAD IN MIND IN ASKING FOR RE-EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE NUCLEAR STRATEGY. IN PARTICULAR, SIMON ASKED WHETHER THIS SUBJECT WOULD PLAY A ROLE AT THE UPCOMING DPC AND NAC MINISTERIALS.

2. IN REPLY, WEISS SAID U.S. IS THINKING LESS OF A DIFFERENT STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND MORE OF THE NEED TO REACH COMMON AGREEMENT ON ALLIED CAPABILITIES. U.S. BELIEVES ASSESSMENT OF CERTAIN ALLIED CAPABILITIES HAS BEEN DOWNGRADED IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELDS. WEISS EMPHASIZED THAT U.S. IS NOT ARGUING FOR TOTAL RELIANCE ON CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES BUT RATHER FOR NEED TO PERCEIVE CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR POSTURE TOGETHER, WITH EACH COMPLEMENTING AND REINFORCING THE OTHER IN TERMS OF OVERALL ALLIED DEFENSE AND DETERRENT CREDIBILITY. FAILURE TO DO THIS WOULD PRODUCE LESS EFFECTIVE COUPLING OF ALLIED POSTURE AND THUS COULD MISLEAD SOVIETS INTO BELIEVING THEY HAD WIDER POLITICAL/MILITARY OPTIONS THAN IN FACT PERTAIN. CONTINUING IN THE SAME VEIN AS U.S. COMMENTS AT RECENT NPG MINISTERIAL, WEISS UNDERSCORED IMPORTANCE OF EXAMINING WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IF NECESSARY, COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IN RESTRAINED FASHION DESIGNED TO FULFILL ALLIED OBJECTIVES.

3. BOTH FONOFF AND DEFMIN OFFICIALS WELCOMED WEISS' REMARKS. BRANDT SAID DEFMIN MINISTER LEBER FULLY AGREED WITH IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING CONVENTIONAL FORCES, BOTH FOR DEFENSE AND DETERRENT PURPOSES AS WELL AS TO RENDER MORE CREDIBLE WESTERN NUCLEAR POSTURE. BRANDT SAID, PARTLY BECAUSE OF DISCUSSION OF THIS CONCEPT, HAGUE NPG MINISTERIAL HAD BEEN THE BEST NPG MEETING IN YEARS. RESTRICTED SESSIONS WERE PARTICULARLY VALUABLE AND BONN HOPED DPC MINISTERIAL WILL ALSO PROVIDE TIME FOR SUCH RESTRICTED SESSIONS. BRANDT WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT LEBER HAD PLANNED TO TELL SECDEF DURING LATTER'S POSTPONED TRIP TO BONN THAT FRG SIMPLY REJECTED NOTION OF TRIPWIRE STRATEGY. BRANDT SAID LEBER FELT STRONGLY THAT CREDIBILITY OF NUCLEAR DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE
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WOULD SUFFER BADLY FROM EROSION OF ALLIED CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH. CONCLUDING COMMENTS OF NPG MINISTERIAL, BRANDT SAID HE ALSO WANTED TO PASS ON GLOWING COMMENTS OF LEBER CONCERNING SECDEF'S PERSONAL COMMAND OF SUBJECT MATTER DURING STRATEGIC BRIEFING.

4. U.S. TROOP ISSUE. AT THE END OF MEETING WITH WEISS AND EMBOFF, BRANDT SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE TWO GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. FIRST, FRG AND USG HAD SOMEWHAT DIFFERING REQUIREMENTS IN MAKING PRESENTATIONS TO PARLIAMENTS ON U.S. TROOP PRESENCE. USG HAD TO PROVE

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TO CAPITOL HILL THAT 300,000 MAN FORCE LEVEL PROVIDED EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AND DETERRENT CAPABILITY AGAINST SOVIET THREAT IN ORDER TO AVOID TROOP CUTS ON GROUNDS THAT PRESENT FORCE LEVELS SERVE NO PURPOSE BESIDES TRIPWIRE. FRG HAD TO CONVINCE BUNDESTAG THAT SUBSTANTIAL GERMAN EFFORTS WERE REQUIRED TO COMPLEMENT AND SUPPORT U.S. TROOP PRESENCE. BRANDT SAID IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP IN MIND THAT THEIR COMMENTS TO PARLIAMENT COULD APPEAR IN EACH OTHER'S NEWSPAPERS A FEW DAYS LATER. SECOND, BRANDT FELT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR STUDIES OF ALLIES' SECURITY TO BE TRANSPOSED AT EARLY POINTS INTO MULTILATERAL RATHER THAN ISOLATED NATIONAL ANALYSIS. THIS WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

5. FRENCH ROLE IN ALLIANCE. DURING HIS CONVERSATION WITH WEISS AND EMBOFF, DEFMIN POLICY PLANNING CHIEF WIECK VOICED ENCOURAGEMENT WITH INCREASED FRENCH ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF U.S. CONVENTIONAL MILITARY PRESENCE AND DETERRENCE AND THE NEED FOR ENHANCED EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORTS. WIECK ALSO TERMED FRENCH DRAFT ATLANTIC DECLARATION HELPFUL. BUT REFERRING ALSO TO FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, WIECK ASKED WHETHER FRANCE WOULD
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BE DRAWN BACK INTO ALLIANCE FRAMEWORK OR WHETHER SEPARATE COURSES OF FRENCH DEFENSE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALLIANCE. U.S. POSITION ON THIS ISSUE WOULD BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, AS IN WIECK'S VIEW, ENCOURAGEMENT OF SEPARATE FRENCH PATH MIGHT INDUCE OTHER ALLIED PARTNERS "TO MAINTAIN A CERTAIN DISTANCE FROM

THE ALLIANCE." WIECK SAID THIS PROBLEM WAS OF CONSIDERABLE CONCERN TO FRG, AS ALLIANCE WAS INDISPENSABLE INGREDIENT OF TENABLE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE.

6. WHILE NOTING RECENT CHANGES IN FORMULATION COMING OUT OF PARIS, WEISS SAID HE WAS SOMETIMES CONCERNED THAT FRENCH ACTIONS SEEMED DESIGNED TO DRIVE A WEDGE IN THE ALLIANCE. THE FRENCH SEEMED TO BE STRESSING THE ROLE OF THE NINE, AS OPPOSED TO U.S./ EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP, WHICH WAS OBVIOUSLY AMERICAN DESIDERATUM. WEISS SAID SECRETARY AND USG ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO REDESIGNING AND PLACING ALLIANCE ON DURABLE BASIS IN A WAY THAT WOULD MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF ALL ALLIES. BUT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR FRENCH TO FILL OUT THE IMPROVED WORDS WITH THE RIGHT SUBSTANCE.

7. WIECK SAID HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH WERE PRESENTLY IN A PROBING PROCESS DESIGNED TO DETERMINE THE MOST EFFECTIVE MOOD OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. FRENCH WERE SEEKING A FORUM THAT WOULD BEST TAKE ACCOUNT OF PRINCIPAL WEIGHT OF FRENCH FORCES--THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT. WHILE PARIS DESIRES IMPROVED ARMS COOPERATION, EUROGROUP DOES NOT STRIKE FRANCE AS CORRECT FORUM AS IT DOES NOT DEAL WITH NUCLEAR POLICY. IN CONCLUSION, WIECK STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ALL ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE U.S., EXPLAINING TO FRANCE THE MAIN FACT OF LIFE THAT SECURE BALANCE OF POWER IS ONLY POSSIBLE ON THE BASIS OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. LIKE OTHER GERMAN OFFICIALS SPEAKING TO WEISS, WIECK CONCLUDED THAT SOME NATIONS HAD ACTED CONTRARY TO THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS BEFORE, AND THAT SUCH MISGUIDED ACTIONS MUST BE AVOIDED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE DURING THE PRESENT DELICATE TRANSITORY PERIOD.

HILLENBRAND

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